POSSIBLE REASONS FOR DECLINE:

228 The decline in the industry appears to be due to three main factors:—

(a) Fewer fish in the Kavirondo Gulf than formerly.
(b) Decline in retail prices giving less profit.
(c) Poverty of the fishermen.

In regard to (c) it may be remarked that during the years of high retail prices many wealthy merchants, Goans and Europeans, were engaged in fishing. These have since withdrawn and the class now carrying on the work usually have to buy nets and boats on credit or pay heavy interest on borrowed money, destroying the fishers' small profit and causing more and more to abandon fishing"

It is generally admitted that the catches of fish are less than they were. In the early years the average catch is estimated to have been over 25 fish per 100 yards of net while the boats operated at only about a mile from shore. In later years the catch fell to 5 per net and to get these the boats have to go from 12 to 15 miles out. The number of boats has also fallen off. At the height of the industry's prosperity there were 150 boats working on an average 10 nets per boat. Some boats worked as much as 20 to 25 nets.

NATIVE METHODS OF CAPTURE: NETS.

226 227 Turning now to the methods employed by the ordinary natives living along the Lake shores we find that fish are caught by drag nets, weirs, traps, harpoons, long lines and to a very small extent with fishing rods. The drag nets used are made of papyrus stems fastened close together and are about 5 ft. deep. They are made in two sizes, the larger size being called by the Jaluo " Gogo " and the smaller " Ogoda." One end of the net is towed out by men in canoes some distance into the Lake and is taken round in a half circle so as to enclose a considerable area of water. The two ends are then drawn towards the shore so that the net brings in with it any fish that have been enclosed. When it is fairly close in men wade into the water with long baskets (Dholuo, Aunga) and capture the fish in these. These baskets ae a form of trap made on much the same principle as a lobster pot and consist of a large cone of basket work about 6 ft. long with a smaller cone inside it pointing in the same direction. The inner cone is open at the end so that when a fish enters at the wide mouth of the basket it swims through the hole at the end of the inner cone and gets imprisoned in the space between the two cones.

BASKET TRAPS, PORTABLE AND STATIONARY.

227 A smaller form of Aunga is used by women, called Aunga Ketenga. There are two varieties of this, one with the double cone and one with only a single cone. When using the double cone ones they place three

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

of the importance of the occasion, and of the status of the individual concerned in it, and the procedure further epitomizes the internal structure of these groups.

For present purposes the significance of all these ritually occasioned social gatherings is that their place of meeting is always the family homestead, and in this way from time to time even the meanest members of the least important family have vividly impressed upon them the segmentary principles of the social structure to which they belong. The underlying economic and domestic arrangements through which these assemblies are, as it were, financed by the provision of food—which may be required to feed large numbers of people for days on end—themselves occasion a subsidiary marshalling of lineage organization. Convenience dictates that the families most concerned in this shall be those which are not only agnatically but spatially nearest to one another. This means that the levels of structure epitomized are similar to those involved in the *rite* ceremony. The primary organizational responsibility falls on the chief wife or widow of the homestead of assembly, who orders the contributions of its other female household heads. Then the senior wife of the head of the *anyuolo* group at the next higher level of segmentation has a like duty to organize the contribution of her group, followed by the female heads of each *anyuolo* co-ordinate to hers in order of genealogical seniority. After this the next higher level of segments is called into play, and so on, the number of subsequent levels which must be called upon depending on the scale of the occasion, as reflected in the numbers of those who attend and the length of time that they stay. Thus not only as members of the entertaining homestead, but also as members of the many neighbouring homesteads drawn in to assist in the commissariat, the housewives and elder daughters who cook the food, the young children of both sexes who must run as messengers and act as carriers of the food itself, all repeatedly have impressed upon their experience the lower levels of the lineage structure which permeates their society. In the rural isolation of a subsistence economy these are the events which loom large on the social horizon, occupying the mind and feeding conversation. It is hardly surprising that a people like the Luo grow up with a complete practical grasp, at a level which requires no abstract formulation, of those principles of social organization which seem at first so intricate and confusing to the outsider.

Anyuolo segments within the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'* also act as mutual assistance groups. It is within them that cattle may be borrowed for making marriage payments. Nowadays it is the members of such groups who rely on one another for the loan of small sums of money required in the many transactions resulting from new needs. They tend to meet for consideration of any matters of common concern; these meetings are rather informal, but usually recognize the leadership of the member who is eldest by lineage seniority, and are often accompanied by the drinking of beer.

VII. THE MECHANISM OF SEGMENTATION

It is now possible to give further details of how certain class B segments (*anyuolo*) within a minimal class A lineage achieve class A status themselves as units of primary settlement, the basic segments in the articulated system of *gweng'* and *dhoot*. When this occurs, of course, the previous minimal class A segment is raised from its